3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

586 684 in which, in order to escape the wrath of public opinion and castigation by the officials, offenders against the divorce laws have left the Cayapa country entirely and taken up their abode in Colombia or in the interior of Ecuador. The same applies to the laws relating to 582 684 marriage between near relatives. The evasion or the open violation of either the laws of divorce or those governing consanguineal marriage are, however, of such rare occurrence that the laws may be said to operate almost perfectly, and they, together with the laws requiring chastity and fidelity in both sexes, certainly produce a salutary moral effect on the community. In fact, it is most exceptional to find a tribe or a community of the size of the Cayapa in which the ethical standards are so high and so strictly observed.

DEATH

761 As was stated in speaking of medicine practices, death is ordinarily attributed to the presence of malevolent 753 spirits in the body, whither they find their way by various 776 means. For instance, they may be placed by some [754] malicious shaman in the soul of the individual as it wanders about during sleep, or they may enter directly into the body as one passes some particular spot believed to be infested with these malicious, disease-breeding spirits.

774 There seems to be a difference of opinion as to the 775 soul. One informant maintained that there are numer- 177 ous souls, each residing in a different part of the body; that the one in the chest is the largest and most im-

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

portant and the one which ascends to the sky after death, there to receive its proper reward or punishment. This latter notion, however, appears to have been derived from modern religious ideas. The various souls residing in other parts of the body were said by this informant to live in and about the house of the deceased until such time as they are driven out. Most informants, on the other hand, maintain that the body has but a single soul, which lives in and about the house of the deceased until driven out to the ocean or into the mountains by a shaman, there to reside eternally. Having once been thus expelled, the soul is never again seen about the house, but it may return to the cemetery or to other parts of the region. It is said to do no special harm to the living after having been driven away, but will cause the death of other members of the family if allowed to remain unmolested about the house.

On the death of an individual the body is dressed in his best clothing and wrapped carefully in mantas or other available cloth; it is then placed in a wooden box made after the fashion of a coffin, or if the wood is not at hand a kind of coffin is made of bamboo.

If death occurs very early in the morning, the corpse may be interred the same day; usually, however, it is kept until the following day. Meantime the relatives and friends living within comparatively easy reach are notified. All who are able, journey to the cemetery, which is but a short distance from the village, and there a Catholic funeral service is held over the remains, after which they are buried in a shallow grave.

Before leaving the house with the body, the relatives

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

to be resident in the house or in the surrounding ground are expelled in the manner described. 755

Similarly after death, since the soul of the departed is believed to return to the house and may cause illness or even death of other members of the family, shamans are called in and the particular soul expelled.

Such a soul is not simply driven into the jungle, but ordinarily is driven into the ocean. It goes to one of two places: to the island of Gorgona off the southern coast of Colombia, or to a large mythical sandbar far out at sea. Sometimes souls are driven only down to the sand beaches along the ocean near the mouth of the river, or in some instances to some secluded and lonely spot far in the mountains. In any event the services of one or more shamans must be enlisted within a month or so after the death of a person in order that his returning soul shall not bring illness and perhaps death to any of the surviving members of the household. 755 775

In speaking of souls and spirits it must be borne in mind that as these two terms are here used they are not identical in Cayapa conception. Every animate being has a soul or shade which is a definite part of itself and without which life is impossible. This soul lives on after death. It has the form of the body it occupies, and has the power of leaving the body and wandering about when the body sleeps or is otherwise unconscious, and in this particular resembles a spirit. A true spirit, on the other hand, is a supernatural entity which resides in an object, animate or inanimate, or in a particular spot, but which has nothing to do with the existence of that object. It may take the form of the object it inhabits, especially if the object is animate; but fre- 774 776 774 776

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

The Soul

The soul, called kû'mi, inhabits every human body as well as the bodies of certain other animate beings. In general it has the form of the body that it inhabits, and has the power of leaving the body during sleep and of traveling about at will. In their travels the souls visit many places, such as cemeteries, houses of friends, etc., and are subject to considerable danger while thus wandering about. A shaman with malicious intent may by his magic summon one of these wandering souls and, by appearing friendly, may gain its confidence sufficiently to induce it to drink chicha, thus partially intoxicating it and enabling him to insert within it a pebble, a snake, an insect, or some other object which will work ill. On returning to its body, the soul takes with it this malevolent object, which also enters the body. As a result, illness follows almost immediately and the person dies within a short time, usually at or just before sunset, unless properly and promptly doctored by a shaman. Such illness is said to resemble an attack due to a natural cause, which is to say that it resembles an attack caused by the entrance of similar objects into the body by means other than through the agency of the soul; for it must be remembered that all illness other than that resulting from wounds, bruises, or other visible external means, is attributed to the presence of one or more of these magic objects in the body. It is said that fevers, for instance, which result from the presence in the body of these malevolent objects brought to it by means of the soul, cannot be distinguished in

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD6 Cayapa SD6

753 their symptoms from fevers resulting from drinking water in a new region. This alludes to the fact that in [164] this region it almost invariably happens, even with people in perfect health, that if they travel from the coast into the interior mountains, or vice versa, they become ill for a short time with a fever of greater or lesser gravity. This is attributed directly to the change of drinking water, though in the Cayapa mind there is here also a direct connection with spirits.

757 A still greater danger to the soul as it travels about 758 during sleep arises when a shaman sets a trap or a deadfall at any point he thinks a soul is likely to pass. If the soul gets into this trap or deadfall, it is killed, so to speak, and its owner never awakens. The soul itself, being immortal, later escapes from the trap or deadfall and passes on with its future existence, but once the life has left the body which it formerly inhabited, the soul is never able to return to it.

775 After death, souls travel about as they do in sleep, frequenting for a time special burial places and the homes which their bodies formerly inhabited. They would, if unmolested, continue indefinitely to go about their former haunts, but, owing to the danger to the living from their presence, means are taken to expel them. The expulsion of these souls, as also of malevolent spirits, by one or more shamans has been described in detail in speaking of medicine practices.

• 774 By many it is claimed that certain mammals, birds, reptiles, and other animate objects do not possess souls, but by others it is claimed that every animate object has a soul. Inanimate objects, such as waterworn

3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
SD 6 Cayapa SD6

Inanimate objects, such as waterworn pebbles, fragments of ancient pottery, ancient stone implements, and practically all hard objects of unusual form, are the abodes of spirits, but have not souls like those of animate objects. The souls of other animate objects may travel about during sleep and unconsciousness, just as do the souls of human beings. The spirits resident in inanimate objects, which of course do not sleep, travel only at night. As a matter of fact the souls of animate objects also travel almost exclusively at night, since, with but few exceptions, these animals sleep at that time. The souls of animate objects and the spirits resident in inanimate objects seem to be endowed with about the same attributes, and they mingle on friendly terms, assembling in various places to dance together, visiting burial places together, and in general making common cause in their wanderings and associations.

What seems to be an intrusive idea from Catholic sources is that human souls ascend at death to the upper world, but ideas concerning this abode and the ascension of souls are largely indefinite. However, it is maintained by some who hold rather vaguely to these concepts that God keeps there a long ladder which, when the person is about to die, he drops down in order that the soul may ascend. But the majority of the Cayapa, and even those who claim to believe in this ascent to the upper world, avoid burial places at night and have the souls of departed friends and relatives expelled by shamans from their houses and driven out to the ocean in the old orthodox Cayapa manner.

the Río Camerones in the monte. People are afraid of him, because he can kill a person by catching his spirit. Duende is the owner of all of the wild pigs, as well as the /bohól^{y}a/, a race of cave dwellers who are similar to the Cayapa in appearance. The second, /a^{y}uhéri/, is the devil who plays all of the musical instruments at the same time. Some think that he just touches himself to produce the sounds. He is naked, and black like a Negro, and has a very large penis with which he kills women when he makes love to them. These beings are not really a part of the religious belief system, but other spirits are.

The Cayapa believe that people have three souls: /tembíka/ 'heart,' /hóma/ 'soul' and /a^{y}ŋóa cit^{y}u ŋhom/ 'bald ghost.' At death, the /tembíka/ leaves the body by way of the mouth and goes straight up to Jesus, who has it punished. The manner of punishment is not clear, but it goes on for a very long time. Finally, the soul enters heaven. There are no clear ideas expressed regarding the nature of heaven, but many Cayapa think in terms of a big fiesta. The /hóma/ leaves the body at death in an unknown manner and wanders about the

vicinity. It may kill people whom it encounters alone. The third soul, the bald ghost is dressed in white and remains by the grave. "In the old days, it would fight with its enemies, but nowadays this does not happen." The /kúma/ has the form of the body it inhabits, and it has the power of leaving the body during sleep, and of travelling about at will. In their travels, the souls visit many places, such as cemeteries, houses of friends, and distant places. At these times the soul is in danger of being harmed by witchcraft: if the /kúma/ is prevented from returning to its body, that person must die.

In common with much of the Catholic world, the Cayapa believe that a deceased infant has not had a chance to sin and so goes directly to heaven as an angel: however, if the child had been conceived in sin, then they maintain that it is an abomination, and non-Christian. In this case they feel that the Christian thing to do is to kill the neonate, but the status of the soul of the infant is not clear. On the question of the immediate transit to heaven of the infant's soul, the Negroes are the authorities for the Cayapa. As an instance, the wife of Pablo Canalaba of Durango, died

96

Adults and children are buried in a cemetery

764
766
778

area called the patsalo, while infants are buried directly inside the church. When an /ŋuPLi/ dies he is buried immediately outside the church entrance underneath the church bell that is suspended from the projecting roof. The Cayapa maintain that it is very important to be buried in the ceremonial center to which one belongs. Ceremonial allegiance is inherited in the patrilineal line and even though one has spent all or most of his life living in one of the other tribal groups, they believe that one should still be buried in the proper center. If a Cayapa should die far from home, he is interred at the site of death. Thereafter, attempts are made to bring the bones back for a proper funeral and burial. A casket is made, and the bones are laid out. The mourning and gaiety described above are carried out, but in a much more perfunctory fashion.

[619]
[631]

Medical Practices. Illness for the Cayapa is mainly a matter of soul loss or spirit possession. To a lesser extent, the cause of the illness may be the presence of small physical objects such as stones or thorns which have been placed within the body by means of witchcraft.

953
[770]
[754]